



Honor Crimes in the United States and Offenders' Neutralization Techniques

Carlijn van Baak, Brittany E. Hayes, Joshua D. Freilich & Steven M. Chermak

To cite this article: Carlijn van Baak, Brittany E. Hayes, Joshua D. Freilich & Steven M. Chermak (2017): Honor Crimes in the United States and Offenders' Neutralization Techniques, Deviant Behavior, DOI: [10.1080/01639625.2016.1266870](https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2016.1266870)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2016.1266870>



Published online: 06 Jan 2017.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 132



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Honor Crimes in the United States and Offenders' Neutralization Techniques

Carlijn van Baak^a, Brittany E. Hayes^a, Joshua D. Freilich^b, and Steven M. Chermak^c

^aSam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas, USA; ^bJohn Jay College, CUNY, New York, NY, USA; ^cMichigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, USA

ABSTRACT

Honor crimes are violent acts that are experienced among different religions and ethnicities. This type of offense can be justified, either before or after the crime, by the offender's perceived need to protect honor-based values. This study used Sykes and Matza's neutralization theory to explain the offender's justification of honor crimes. We used data from the United States Extremist Crime Database, which has incident, victim, and perpetrator level indicators for the population of honor crimes in the United States ($N = 16$). Using open source search files for the cases, neutralizations and justifications provided by the offenders are presented.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 16 June 2016

Accepted 1 November 2016

This study uses Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization theory to investigate how honor crime offenders in the United States justify and rationalize their violent behaviors. Honor crimes are, unfortunately, a worldwide phenomenon that continues to garner attention from the media, policymakers and the public. While scholars have begun to empirically investigate honor crimes, few have examined how and if neutralization techniques are used by the offenders to justify and/or rationalize the honor crime to themselves and others. Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization theory has successfully been applied to a range of criminal offenses (Byers, Crider, and Biggers 1999; Copes 2003; Cromwell and Thurman 2003; Spraitz and Bowen 2016; Tomita 1990), but it has not been used to understand how domestic violence perpetrators justify their crimes (Dobash and Dobash 2011). Cavanagh et al. (2001) applied Goffman's (1971) concept of "remedial work" to examine abusive men's perceptions, constructions, and understandings of domestic violence and found frequent use of denial and justifications in men's accounts. Dobash and Dobash (2011) focused on cognitions by examining the denials, rationalizations, and justifications used by men who murdered intimate partners. Tactics of denial were common among offenders, including denying responsibility and blaming the victim. These studies extend our knowledge of how abusers view their deviant behavior.

Yet more research is needed because understanding an abuser's beliefs and cognitions is necessary to create policies that alter or limit abusive behavior (Dobash and Dobash 2011). More specifically, knowing how honor crime perpetrators justify and neutralize their violence will provide insight into how they view both their victim and the offense, thus allowing us to identify if—and which—cultural dynamics are at play (Doğan 2014a). Although almost all cultures value honor, including integrity and good moral character, some cultures place a higher premium on it and organize interpersonal life around it (Vandello and Cohen 2005). As argued by Baker, Gregware, and Cassidy (1999), "the underlying components of an honor system—control, shame, and a reference community—are interactive and variable in different cultural contexts" and "understanding the interactive dynamic of such honor systems may help to explain why the murder of women by their intimate partner continues" (p. 180). By applying neutralization theory to honor crimes, we are able to gain insight into the perpetrators' attitudes toward their victim and offense and thus highlight the interactive dynamics of honor systems from the perpetrator's

perspective. The knowledge gained from this study could be used to guide prevention efforts against this type of violence.

We used data from the United States Extremist Crime Database and analyzed 16 honor crimes committed in the United States since January 1, 1990. We systematically coded open source data (e.g., published newspaper articles, court records, blogs) for the use of neutralization techniques. Below, we first review the honor violence literature, and explain why neutralization theory is helpful in understanding how honor crime perpetrators justify the crime. We then present the methods, data, and findings. Last, we discuss findings in light of current research and highlight policy implications and avenues for future research.

Honor crimes

Honor crimes have been conceptualized as violent acts committed by one or more perpetrators, generally a male, to restore honor to their family in response to the victim's perceived violation of familial honor codes or perceived misbehaviors that are believed to have shamed the family (Kulwicksi 2002). This definition consists of several components. First, a violent act must be committed. Although the violent act can be fatal or nonfatal (Cooney 2014), this study focuses on fatal honor crimes in the United States. It has been estimated that 5,000 women and children die annually as a result of honor crimes (UNFPA 2000), although this estimate may underreport the actual number (Wikan 2008). The second component of the definition holds that the perpetrator targeted the victim because they believed the victim's behavior violated an honor code, or the perpetrator mistakenly thought the victim had engaged in this behavior. In turn, the perpetrator believed these behaviors caused shame to the family. Studies have found that females may "dishonor" their family by violating or being perceived to have violated female chastity norms, including loss of virginity before marriage, infidelity after marriage (Baker et al. 1999; Cooney 2014; Faqir 2001; Kulwicksi 2002), interacting socially with nonfamily males (Akpınar 2003), and acting autonomously by, for example, gaining an education, securing a job, leaving an abusive husband, or dressing how she wants (Hasan 2002; İnce, Yaralı, and Özsel 2009; Pope 2012). Last, the offender believed the violent act would restore his/her family's honor.

Vandello and Cohen (2003) have argued that honor codes call for males to be masculine, including acting tough and displaying hypersensitivity to threats to their reputation. Female norms include modesty and avoiding behaviors that may threaten the family's reputation. Misbehaviors by a female, including even suspected acts, can damage the family's public reputation in honor cultures because of the importance of a family's good name (Baker et al. 1999; Cooney 2014; Vandello and Cohen 2003). Given the family's honor depends on the female's behavior, men are expected to react to insults and threats to their reputation to uphold their family's honor (Baker et al. 1999; Cooney 2014; Vandello and Cohen 2003). These reactions may include violence. It is not surprising then that females are the primary victims of honor crimes (Cooney 2014).

Arab, Middle Eastern, and Far Eastern (e.g., India and Pakistan) cultures have been considered patriarchal societies (Baxi, Rai, and Ali 2006; Coomaraswamy 2005; Fernea 2000; Lari 2011; Zakar, Zakar, and Kraemer 2013) where family honor plays an important role for more traditional men. In these traditional, patriarchal societies honor crimes have generally been condoned, and those who are seen as restoring their family's honor receive community-wide support and encouragement (Baker et al. 1999). In fact, the legal systems in some of these countries separate honor crimes from other murders and provide lower penalties to honor crime perpetrators or no punishment at all in some cases (Abu-Odeh 1997; Feldner 2000; Kogacioglu 2004).

Nevertheless, the motives and outcomes of honor crimes are diverse and may vary between countries. Hayes, Freilich, and Chermak (2016) found that fatal honor crimes in the United States were committed in response to the victim's westernized behavior and the process of separation. The individualistic culture in Western societies may increase women's independence and autonomy, which potential offenders perceive as challenging their male identity and dominance, and this may violate their family's traditional, patriarchal values and beliefs (Baker et al. 1999). Even in Western countries, where patriarchal and

traditional beliefs are believed to be less valued, society and the legal system may shy away from calling a specific incident an honor crime. Americans may feel nervous about distinguishing between honor crimes and other types of domestic violence and may consider it part of immigrants' cultural traditions (Ali 2015). Western societies may also be reluctant to classify an incident as an honor crime due to fears that doing so could foster anti-Arab or anti-Muslim attitudes, though this may provide offenders with the opportunity to justify their actions (Muhammad 2010).

Techniques of neutralization

Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization theory offers a useful conceptual framework to better understand how honor crime perpetrators justify their actions. Neutralization theory was originally developed to explain how juveniles rationalize their deviant behavior to protect themselves and blame others for their deviant act. Neutralization theory has been applied to a variety of offenses, including hate crimes (Byers et al. 1999), auto theft (Copes 2003), shoplifting (Cromwell and Thurman 2003), sexual abuse (Spraitz and Bowen 2016), and elder mistreatment (Tomita 1990).

Prior research has found that abusers neutralize, rationalize, or justify their behavior (Cavanagh et al. 2001; Dobash and Dobash 2011), suggesting that those who engage in subsets of domestic violence, such as honor crimes, may also neutralize or justify their behavior. In fact, Doğan (2014a) and Hayes et al. (2016) both found that honor crime offenders provided justifications for their behavior. Given the importance of honor in particular cultures, these perpetrators may justify their behavior because it is "unthinkable to deal with the issue of dishonor in a way other than that suggested or designed by that society" (Doğan 2014a:379). In other words, the offender justifies the honor crime to overcome his/her feelings of guilt and shame.

Neutralization theory includes five techniques: denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, condemnation of condemners, and appeal to higher loyalties. Sykes and Matza's (1957) first technique is *denial of responsibility*, where the offender justifies the behavior by attributing it to acts or forces beyond his/her control. Examples include statements such as: "I didn't mean it" (Cromwell and Thurman 2003:542) and "It's not my fault" (Liddick 2013:623).

Second, offenders may engage in *denial of injury*, which minimizes the harm or injury done to the victim (Sykes and Matza 1957). Although offenders may realize their actions run counter to the law, they do not view the injury as substantial, and minimize or completely negate the harm caused. The offender may deny the victim's injury by stating: "I didn't really hurt anybody" (Cromwell and Thurman 2003:534), and "Stuff like that happens to them" (Byers et al. 1999:86).

The third technique is *denial of victim*, where the offender claims the victim did something equally wrong to deserve it, thus shifting the blame to the victim. The offender may deny the existence of the victim, transform the victim into a wrongdoer (Doğan 2014a), or dehumanize the victim or the victim's group (Byers et al. 1999). Examples of such statements include: "They had it coming" (Cromwell and Thurman 2003:543), "[S]he deserved it" (Liddick 2013:623), and "I don't consider them a victim" (Byers et al. 1999:88).

Fourth, offenders may *condemn the condemners*, where they shift the blame to those who disapprove of his/her actions. This may include the offender viewing the criminal justice system as crooked or shifting the blame to lawmakers and/or law-enforcers (Cromwell and Thurman 2003). The offender may also target the person who disapproves of the act. Examples of such statements include: "The system is corrupt" (Cromwell and Thurman 2003:544), "What else could I do?" (Heltsley and Calhoun 2003:93), and "What would you do if you were in my position?" (Doğan 2014a:380).

For the last technique, *appeal to higher loyalties*, the offender claims the act was committed to uphold a value or bond that they consider more important than compliance with the law. This may include, for example, the offender's bond with peers, family, religion, or culture. Statements that exemplify appeal to higher loyalties include: "I didn't do it for myself" (Cromwell and Thurman 2003:544), "I had to do it or they would clown me" (Copes 2003:112), and "I sacrificed myself for my family" (Doğan 2014a:379).

Although neutralization theory was originally developed to explain how offenders rationalize their behavior *before* committing their deviant act, the theory has also been applied to justifications made by the offender *after* the crime (Maruna and Copes 2005; Minor 1981). Even though justifications after the fact do not follow Sykes and Matza's (1957) pathway that an offender becomes delinquent or criminal by learning these techniques prior to committing a deviant act, these justifications explain how offenders rationalize their behavior and protect themselves from self-blame, guilt, and shame afterward. Prior research on neutralization techniques (Byers et al. 1999; Cromwell and Thurman 2003; Doğan 2014a) has focused on statements made by offenders *after* offenders engaged in a criminal act, and could thus not determine whether the techniques were used before or after the crime. This earlier research indicates that the time-order of the statements made by the offender may not be essential in examining neutralization techniques (Cromwell and Thurman 2003). Therefore, and similar to previous research (Byers et al. 1999; Cromwell and Thurman 2003; Doğan 2014a), this study examined statements made by offenders or those close to the incident *after* the act to identify the use of neutralization techniques among honor crimes committed in the United States.

Data and methods

This study uses data from the United States Extremist Crime Database (ECDB), which collects open-source materials to identify violent and financial crimes committed by political extremists in the United States. It is a relational database that includes variables at different levels of analysis, including incident, offender, victim, and organizational levels. The ECDB has been used for a variety of studies that focus on extremist violence (e.g., Chermak et al. 2012; Gruenewald, Chermak, and Freilich 2013). The ECDB also includes data on fatal honor crimes committed in the United States from 1990 until the present. Prior research has used the ECDB honor crime data to explore the motivations and relationship between victims and offenders of honor crimes (Hayes et al. 2016).¹

The coding of incidents is a multistage process (Freilich et al. 2014). First, open-sources, including official sources, watch-groups, and scholarly accounts, were consulted to identify cases that fit the inclusion criteria. Further, online newspapers were used to search for incidents, by using keywords, such as "honor crime" and "honor killing" (Hayes et al. 2016). For a case to have been included in the current study several criteria had to be met. First, a homicide must have been committed. Second, the incident must have occurred from January 1, 1990 until December 31, 2015. Third, the offender targeted the victim because of the victim's actual or perceived misbehaviors that could bring shame to the family. Fourth, the honor crime was committed by the perpetrator with the motive of protecting or regaining the perceived honor of the perpetrator, family, or community. Fifth, the perpetrator believed the death of the victim would accomplish a social goal, for example revenge or a warning.

Once incidents were identified, more than 30 Web engines and databases were searched to collect all publicly available information on the event.² All information that was publicly available was copied into a Word document, and data was systematically extracted from this document based on the preexisting coding scheme of the ECDB. Variables related to the incident, offenders, and victims were coded.³

In total, 16 honors crimes satisfied the inclusion criteria and were identified and coded in the ECDB. The 16 available case files included published news articles, court records, and blogs, and contained a total of over 1,600 pages. For every honor crime, a follow up search was conducted to identify if there was

¹For a more detailed discussion of the data and the coding process, see Hayes et al. (2016).

²These Web engines include: (1) Lexis-Nexis; (2) Proquest; (3) Yahoo; (4) Google; (5) Copernic; (6) News Library; (7) Westlaw; (8) Google Scholar (both articles and legal opinions); (9) Amazon; (10) Google U.S. Government; (11) Federation of American Scientists; (12) Google Video; (13) Center for the Study of Intelligence; (14) Surf Wax; (15) Dogpile; (16) Mamma; (17) Librarians' Internet Index; (18) Scirus; (19) All the Web; (20) Google News; (21) Google Blog; (22) Homeland Security Digital Library; (23) Vinelink; (24) The inmate locator; (25) Bureau of Prisons; (26) Individual State Department of Corrections (DOCs); (27) Blackbookonline.info; (28) Quantloos; (29) Anti-Defamation League; (30) Southern Poverty Law Center; and (31) Center on Law and Security.

³The larger ECDB study has relied on multiple coders. For an explanation on how interrater reliability was addressed, please refer to Freilich et al. (2014).

Table 1. Ranking of sources by degree of reliability.

1	Appellate court proceedings
2	Court proceedings subject to cross examination (e.g., trial transcripts)
3	Court proceedings or documents not subject to cross examination (e.g., indictments)
4	Corroborated information from people with direct access to information provided (e.g., law enforcement and other key informants)
5	Uncorroborated statements from people with that access
6	Media reports
7	Watch-group reports
8	Personal views expressed in blogs, websites, editorials, op-eds, and so on

new information available on the case (e.g., sentences, appeals), and if there was an update, the information was added to the case file.

Analysis

First, prior literature on techniques of neutralization was examined. After reviewing the literature, a coding scheme was created. Then, each document was read to highlight statements that indicated the offender neutralized or justified his behavior. Since neutralization techniques “are culturally shaped and therefore different from the neutralization techniques described in recent criminological literature on violent men” (Doğan 2014a:380), we paid specific attention to the role of culture and honor during the coding process by relying on Doğan’s (2014a) work. We closed coded the data for techniques of neutralization, using the five techniques previously identified by Sykes and Matza (1957). Subsequently, we open coded the techniques based on different themes that emerged within the broader techniques. The open coding process was iterative, and statements that represented justifications with repetitive themes were grouped together. After all justifications were sorted based on their emerging theme(s), we created names for each subtheme that represented its main focus.

Direct statements made by the offender, as well as indirect statements made by reliable sources close to the investigation or the offender (e.g., police, family), were used to identify neutralization techniques, given that offenders did not make statements in some cases. For the purpose of reliability, we applied a ranking of sources by degree of reliability (see Table 1). The first author coded all the documents for techniques of neutralization. When the first author was unable to assign a code, all authors reached a consensus.

Results

From the 16 honor crime cases in our sample, there were 14 cases that had justifications in their files. The two excluded cases were murder–suicides.⁴ The unit of analysis for the current study was the case file ($N = 14$).

Across all cases, all five techniques of neutralization were identified. As indicated in Table 2, techniques and subthemes were not mutually exclusive, as multiple techniques and subthemes were identified in many cases. Table 3 provides an overview of the frequency of neutralization techniques stated directly by offenders and it shows that perpetrators were most likely to deny their victim. Table 4 provides background on each of the cases. The most common victim–offender relationship was father–child followed by intimate partners. In total, 50% of the cases involved perpetrators from Middle Eastern countries. The remaining perpetrators were from Pakistan ($n = 4$), Somalia, Bangladesh, Guyana, and America. Below we elaborate on each of the techniques of neutralization and themes within each technique.

⁴In both murder–suicide cases, there were no statements made by the offenders before the incidents occurred. Furthermore, there were no suicide notes found in either of the cases. Therefore, since there were no reliable statements as to why the murder–suicides occurred or how the murder–suicides would have been justified, we excluded these cases from our analysis.

Table 2. Neutralization techniques used in cases ($N = 14$).

Technique	n	% of cases that had technique present
Denial of victim	13	93
Denial of responsibility	11	79
Appeal to higher loyalties	11	79
Condemnation of the condemners	4	29
Denial of injury	1	7

Table 3. Neutralization techniques directly stated by offenders in cases ($n = 14$).

Techniques	n
Denial of responsibility	11
Denial of victim	7
Higher loyalties	4
Condemnation of condemners	2
Denial of injury	1

Denial of victim

Denial of victim was the most common technique ($n = 13$). In these cases the victim engaged in behaviors the offender believed were “wrongful,” such as a divorce, westernized behavior, or disrespect. The presence of this technique often overlapped with appeal to higher loyalties, with 11 cases including both techniques.

The most common subtheme of denial of the victim, as noted in Table 5, was “perception of victim’s behavior” ($n = 10$). Justifications were placed in this category if offenders perceived that the victim engaged in certain behaviors that violated the offender’s honor. In other words, offenders shifted the blame to the victims. In the second statement provided for “perception of victim’s behavior,” the offender claimed he killed his wife because he was an abused spouse. This offender thus denies his wife’s existence as a victim and indicates that she provoked the incident by her abusive behavior. Second, about a quarter of the cases included denial of the victim due to the victim’s westernized behavior, such as independence and westernized clothing ($n = 4$). In two cases, denial of the victim was based on the offender’s belief that the victim would not adhere to the offender’s cultural standards. This subtheme can be differentiated from the others due to its specific focus on the offender’s culture and beliefs. In the statements provided, it is implicitly argued that the victims did not behave according to the offender’s culture (i.e., pursuing a divorce). Another subcategory ($n = 2$) was “denial of third party,” where offenders killed the victim’s family because the offenders perceived the family as helping their wife or girlfriend begin the process of separation. The last subtheme identified within denial of victim was adultery ($n = 2$). Interestingly, in both cases where it was claimed that the victim had an affair, the victim did not actually engage in the accused behavior. Instead, the offenders perceived that these events had occurred. Religion was the least common subcategory within denial of victim ($n = 1$). Religion was differentiated from culture in that the offender directly referenced religion. In this case, the victim was blamed for not converting to the offender’s religion.

Denial of responsibility

Denial of responsibility was the second most frequently used technique ($n = 11$). Table 6 includes statements to showcase each of the subthemes for denial of responsibility.

It was most common for offenders ($n = 5$) to claim they were not responsible due to delusions or trauma they had experienced. Another common way to deny responsibility was “immediate dissociation” ($n = 5$), in which the offender shifted the focus to his mental state during the incident. Other offenders claimed they were completely innocent ($n = 4$) by either blaming someone or something else for the incident or by simply denying they were involved. Although blaming someone or something else for the

Table 4. Summary of cases (*N* = 16).

Facts	Victim–offender relationship	Offender's country of origin	Technique of neutralization	Sub-theme
Offender killed his two daughters for acting too Western and dating non-Muslims	Daughters (2)	Egypt	Denial of victim Appeal to higher loyalties	Westernized Culture
Offender killed his daughter because she wanted to divorce her husband from an arranged marriage	Daughter	Pakistan	Denial of responsibility Denial of victim	Immediate dissociation 1. Perception of victim's behavior 2. Cultural standards
Offender killed his wife and injured his daughters because he believed his wife and daughter were molested by his brother and his youngest daughter had been "sullied" by a gynecological exam	Wife	Turkey	Appeal to higher loyalties Denial of victim	1. Honor generally 2. Religion 1. Cultural standards 2. Perception of victim's behavior
Offender killed his children and raped and beat his wife because his wife disrespected him	Children (4)	Somali	Appeal to higher loyalties Condemn the condemners Denial of responsibility Denial of victim	Honor generally 1. Innocence 2. Delusions/trauma 1. Adultery 2. Perception of victim's behavior
Offender struck his daughter and her boyfriend's mother with his car because daughter, who had an arranged marriage, was westernized and lived with her boyfriend	Daughter	Iraq	Condemn the condemners Denial of responsibility Denial of victim	1. Accident 2. Lack of intent 3. Delusions/trauma 1. Westernized 2. Perception of victim's behavior
Offender killed his wife and her family because he believed she had an affair and that their son was not his	Wife; father-in-law; sister-in-law; niece	Pakistan	Appeal to higher loyalties Denial of victim Denial of responsibility Appeal to higher loyalties	1. Honor generally 2. Culture 1. Adultery 2. Third party Delusions/trauma Religion

(Continued)

Table 4. (Continued).

Facts	Victim–offender relationship	Offender’s country of origin	Technique of neutralization	Sub-theme
Offender drove 12 hours to kill his step-daughter, allegedly because she left home and did not adhere to Muslim values. Later it was reported that she was going to disclose that he sexually abused her	Step-daughter	Iraq	Condemn the condemners Denial of responsibility Denial of victim	1. Accident 2. Delusions/trauma 1. Westernized 2. Perception of victim’s behavior 1. Honor generally 2. Culture 3. Religion Perception of victim’s behavior 1. Religion 2. Culture
Offenders killed their cousin because they believed she did not comply with their cultural standards	Cousin	Palestine	Denial of victim Appeal to higher loyalties	Perception of victim’s behavior 1. Religion 2. Culture
Offender killed his wife because she made him the wrong meal	Wife	Pakistan	Denial of injury Denial of responsibility Denial of victim Appeal to higher loyalties	1. Lack of intent 2. Innocence Perception of victim’s behavior Culture
Offender killed his wife and her family because his wife refused to convert from Hindu to Islam	Wife; unborn children (2); mother-in-law; sister-in-law	Guyana	Denial of responsibility Appeal to higher loyalties Denial of victim Denial of responsibility	Immediate dissociation Religion Religion 1. Innocence 2. Lack of intent 3. Immediate dissociation
Offender killed his ex-girlfriend’s father and sister because they disapproved of their relationship	Ex-girlfriend’s father and sister	Bangladesh	Condemn the condemners Denial of victim Denial of responsibility	1. Third party 2. Perception of victim’s behavior 1. Delusions/trauma 2. Immediate dissociation 1. Perception of victim’s behavior 2. Westernized Religion
Offender killed his family because they would not convert to Islam	Mother; wife; child; unborn child; nieces (2); unborn child of niece	America	Denial of responsibility Denial of victim Appeal to higher loyalties	1. Delusions/trauma 2. Immediate dissociation 1. Perception of victim’s behavior 2. Westernized Religion

(Continued)

Table 4. (Continued).

Facts	Victim–offender relationship	Offender's country of origin	Technique of neutralization	Sub-theme
Offender beheaded his wife because she filed for a divorce	Estranged wife	Pakistan	Denial of responsibility	1. Immediate dissociation 2. Self-defense
Offender killed his wife because she allegedly planned a divorce and their daughter was rebelling against her arranged marriage	Estranged wife	Iraq	Denial of victim Appeal to higher loyalties Denial of responsibility	Perception of victim's behavior Religion Innocence
Offender killed his family, his wife's family, and himself, allegedly because of marital and financial problems	Estranged wife; children (2); sister-in-law; brother-in-law; niece; himself	Iran	*	
Offender wounded his wife, killed her mother and his daughter, and then himself allegedly because of his impending divorce	Daughter; mother-in-law	Iran	*	

*murder–suicide, not included in analyses

Table 5. Denial of victim.

Subtheme	<i>n</i>	Statements
Perception of victim's behavior	10	"Don't blame me. Can you watch [her] demeanor and do nothing? She brought it upon her."—said by offender (New Times Broward-Palm Beach 2010). "I was like a turtle who would have to go into his shell for protection and survival from her outbursts."—said by offender (Time Warner Cable News 2011).
Westernized behavior	4	"Peoria police said [name offender] believed his daughter had become 'too Westernized' and had abandoned 'traditional' Iraqi values. [...] and was unhappy with his daughter's style of dress and her resistance to his rules."—said by police (CNN 2009).
Cultural standards	2	"[...] claimed he attacked his wife and daughters after learning that his brother had molested his wife and his 22-year-old daughter, according to court documents. [...] 'If you had the opportunity to kill the family again, would you?' he was asked by a Rochester police officer. 'My female family, yes. My male family, no,' [offender] allegedly replied."—said by offender (Solomonias 2004).
Third party	2	"[...] [name offender] eventually decided to kill the family himself when he learned [name girlfriend] was going on a date, fearing he might lose her forever if he didn't act quickly."—said by prosecutor (The San Diego Union Tribune 2011)
Adultery	2	"When [name offender] turned himself in the day of the murders, he told police he killed his children and beat his wife, because she had a 'secret marriage,' according to court documents."—said by police (Courier Journal 2011).
Religion	1	"A fugitive warrant issued by the prosecutor's office indicated Hassan had fought with his wife over his desire that she convert to Islam."—said by police (Associated Press Online 2002)

Table 6. Denial of responsibility.

Subtheme	<i>n</i>	Statements
Delusions/trauma	5	"[name offender]'s attorneys disputed that, saying that [name offender] believed Arabs were trying to track him down and kill him."—said by lawyer (Bartamaha 2009).
Immediate dissociation	5	"I blacked out. You're not thinking, you're in a different state of mind."—said by offender (WGRZ, 2010). "This happened because I became very angry. This was done by passion. I don't know what happened at this time, because I was loving my daughter very, very much. Whatever happened, I was out of control."—said by offender (News Daily 2011).
Innocence	4	"They made up the story and put me in jail. [...] She died of cancer and a heart attack."—said by offender (Pakistan Today 2014).
Lack of intent	2	"I didn't want to kill them."—said by offender (Daily Mail 2013). "[...] he is guilty of only manslaughter because he didn't intend to kill her."—said by lawyer (New York Post 2014).
Accident	2	"He repeatedly called the incident an accident. [...] He swerved but could not avoid hitting her and running over his daughter."—said by lawyer (Huffington Post 2011). "[name offender] told police the gun accidentally discharged when he pulled it out."—said by police (Winona Daily News 2011).
Self-defense	1	"[name offender] [...] saying he stabbed his wife, [name victim], in his home television studio in self-defense. He says he was an abused husband and feared for his life."—said by reporter (United Press International 2011).

incident may overlap with denial of victim, in the subtheme “innocence” the focus was placed specifically on the offender’s perceived lack of guilt or involvement rather than on the victim. In cases that demonstrated a lack of intent ($n = 3$), it was suggested that the offenders killed the victim, but that they did not have any intentions or desire to do so. Responsibility was also denied by claiming the honor crime was an accident. In these two cases, the offenders contended that the weapon used during the incident accidentally resulted in the victim’s death. This category differs from lack of intent, as attention is shifted to the weapon instead of the perpetrator’s intentions or desire. In one case, self-defense was used as a denial of responsibility. This case was previously mentioned for denial of victim, within the subtheme “perception of victim’s behavior,” where similar statements were made. This case exemplifies the overlap between different techniques. This offender claimed his wife abused him and that the abuse led to her murder.

Table 7. Appeal to higher loyalties.

Subtheme	<i>n</i>	Statements
Religion	7	"[...] the police found that [name offender] repeatedly told his wife that she had no right, under Islamic law, to divorce him. They also quote him stating that [name victim], because she was beheaded, cannot reach paradise."—said by police (Religion News Blog 2009).
Culture	5	"He culturally believed he had the right to hit his wife and discipline his wife."—said by lawyer (New York Post 2014). "And for an Iraqi, honor is the most valuable thing. [...] No one hates his daughter, but honor is precious, and nothing is better than honor, and we are a tribal society that can't change."—said by offender (Pysih 2010)
Honor in general	4	"I was concerned that my family's honor was taken. [...] They took my honor."—said by offender (Rochester Democrat and Chronicle 2004).

Appeal to higher loyalties

Similar to what has been found by Doğan (2014a), honor crimes were often justified by appealing to higher loyalties. In total, this technique was found in 11 cases. Importantly, when appeal to higher loyalties was identified, denial of victim was also identified. This indicates there is overlap between these two techniques. In many cases, it was stated the victim did something to deserve the crime (e.g., being too westernized) while also claiming that the victim's behavior went against the offender's honor, culture, or religion. The subthemes for appeal to higher loyalties can be found in Table 7.

The most common higher loyalty was religion ($n = 7$). In these cases it was either claimed that the victim's behavior violated the offender's religion or that the offender felt like his religion made him do it. Culture was also appealed to as a higher loyalty ($n = 5$). In some cases, the offenders specifically tied their crime to their Iraqi culture and values. For example, one offender told police that he was angry with his daughter, who had shunned an arranged marriage. Further, the offender perceived his daughter as being too westernized, defying Iraqi and Muslim values. While this shows the offender's use of denial of the victim because of her westernized behavior, this also indicates that the offender considered his cultural beliefs to be more important than the Western legal system. In several cases ($n = 4$) the honor crime was justified by stating the offender's honor had been violated. Honor in these cases was not tied to the offender's religion or culture specifically, thus explaining the distinction between the categories.

Condemn the condemners

Condemnation of condemners was rarely used ($n = 4$). In cases where it was used, the offender did not blame Western society or culture but rather focused on those who disapproved of the crime or the victim. For example, one offender was angry with his ex-girlfriend's parents who had disapproved of their relationship. In another case, the offender asked the detective what he would do with a disobedient daughter (Pysih 2010), shifting the focus to the detective. Last, one offender was afraid the victim might disclose the sexual assault he had committed against her so he specifically killed her to prevent the disclosure. Again, this shows how techniques of neutralization may overlap, as this justification also indicates the victim was denied. In all these statements, however, the attention is shifted from the offender's deviant behavior to those who disapproved of the offender's actions.

Denial of injury

Denial of injury was rarely used and was identified in only one case. In this particular case, where the victim died from her injuries, the offender denied the severity of the injury he caused. While the offender admitted to hitting his wife, he said he only hit her "once or twice" on the arm and "once" on the lip (Pakistan Today 2014).

Discussion

Our findings suggest that Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization theory provides a useful conceptual framework to better understand the justifications of honor crimes. Given the prevalence of honor crimes across the world (UNFPA 2000), the examination of offenders' justifications is essential to provide a deeper understanding of this subset of domestic violence. This allows us to examine cultural dynamics (Doğan 2014a), and provides us with knowledge that could aid future prevention efforts against honor-based violence (Doğan 2014b). With the exception of the murder-suicide cases ($n = 2$), every honor crime within the United States ($n = 14$) included as least one technique of neutralization. The cases usually included more than one technique of neutralization. The use of neutralization techniques suggests the offender had a commitment to conventional norms, as those not bonded to societal norms or those who lack belief that certain behavior is wrong would not need to neutralize their guilt (Copes 2003; Minor 1981).

Consistent with previous research (Byers et al. 1999; Copes 2003; Hollinger 1991) we found that some techniques were more frequently used than others. The most common technique was denial of victim. This technique allows the offender to assert that the victim caused his or her own victimization and deserved the attack, thus making it easier for the offender to commit the crime (Alvarez 1997). As Copes (2003) argued, offenders can deny their victim in multiple ways, and we identified six different subcategories. Cases where denial of the victim was found were also likely to include statements that represented an appeal to higher loyalties, the second most common technique. From a cultural perspective, honor may be of such importance in the offender's life that it is considered a higher loyalty that allows the offender to justify committing a homicide. Offenders may perceive the protection of honor as more important than the laws they are violating (Sellin 1938).

Together with appeal to higher loyalties, denial of responsibility was also the second most common technique. Scholars have previously argued that denial of responsibility is an especially important technique that can be considered the "master account" (Cohen 2001:61; Maruna and Copes 2005). The technique has been used to justify sexual abuse (Spraitz and Bowen 2016) and shoplifting (Cromwell and Thurman 2002). Perpetrators used a broad variety of justifications to deny their responsibility, ranging from claiming innocence to self-defense. It must be taken into account that many statements were made prior or during the offender's court case, and thus it is possible that they denied responsibility for sentencing purposes.

While condemnation of condemners has been found to be a common technique for sexual abuse (Spraitz and Bowen 2016), shoplifting (Cromwell and Thurman 2002), and the Holocaust (Hazani 1991), it was rarely found in the current study. This finding is somewhat surprising, as many of the offenders ($n = 12$) were first generation immigrants from traditional societies who moved to the United States and experienced a different culture and legal system. These offenders may understand and accept the condemnation of their crime in the United States, but have such strong beliefs in their traditional culture that American disapproval of their act did not influence them, which is likely the result of culture conflict (Sellin 1938). Future research could engage this issue by interviewing perpetrators to gauge the role that American cultural disapproval—did or did not play—in their attempts to rationalize and/or justify their crimes.

Denial of injury was the least common technique of neutralization used by offenders. Interestingly, Sykes and Matza (1957) highlighted it as a major technique within neutralization theory and it has been used for other crimes (e.g., auto theft, corporate crime, see Copes 2003; Piquero, Tibbetts, and Blankenship 2005). The current study's focus on lethal violence, however, may explain why denial of injury was rarely identified as a neutralization technique. Denial of injury minimizes the harm caused to the victim, and it is obviously difficult to minimize the harm in homicide cases.

Similar to prior research, our findings indicated that techniques of neutralization are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Copes 2003; Minor 1981). Given neutralization techniques consist of fairly broad categories, there may be a need to refine these techniques (Copes 2003). By identifying subcategories within each technique of neutralization and allowing techniques to overlap, we were able to prevent the existence of dual meanings within techniques (Copes 2003; Minor 1981). For example, in a case where a father killed

his daughter for becoming too westernized and not living according to traditional Iraqi values (CNN 2009), both appeal to higher loyalties (i.e., culture) as well as denial of victim (i.e., westernized behavior) were present. By coding such justifications as two techniques and two subthemes, we were able to provide a specific and refined examination of the use of techniques of neutralization in cases.

Finally, even though some offenders justified their honor crime by appealing to their religion, honor crimes are not associated with a specific religion as they have been recorded across a variety of faiths (Muhammad 2010). They are the result of traditional and cultural values, as opposed to purely religious values (Lodhi and Siddiqui 2014). When controlling for other factors, religion and the intensity of religious beliefs are not associated with support for honor crimes (Eisner and Ghuneim 2013). Our findings indicate that even though seven cases included an appeal to religion, the majority of cases also included other justifications, as five cases included an appeal to culture and four cases included an appeal to honor in general.

This study has some limitations that merit mention. First, the findings were based on statements made by the offender or those close to the offender in open sources. Thus, the possibility that offenders would have given different statements in personal interviews cannot be excluded. In addition, in many cases multiple techniques of neutralization were identified and included statements by both the offender and others. As it was beyond the scope of the data, much remains unknown as to why multiple techniques were used. In addition, we did not explore whether techniques differ across the type of source. It remains uncertain whether the offender's justifications were consistent over time and if there are temporal differences in how the techniques are employed. For example, are offenders more likely to feel guilty or defiant as their trial begins, and do these emotions affect the techniques they then employ? Future research would benefit from tracking an offender's use of neutralization techniques over time.

Further, although we conducted an exhaustive effort to identify all honor crimes in the United States within the time frame, there is a possibility that the media or courts did not identify all honor crimes. For instance, a recent case where a father murdered his son because of his sexual orientation has been identified as a hate crime. Had the perpetrator mentioned shame or dishonor, this case would have met our inclusion criteria. Additionally, we had two murder-suicides in our sample, and we were not able to identify neutralization techniques for these cases.

Last, since our method was an open source search, statements were often made after the crime was committed. Although research (Cromwell and Thurman 2003; Pogrebin, Poole, and Martinez 1992; Minor 1981) has found that most offenders justify the act after its completion, it would be interesting to identify how honor crimes perpetrators neutralize their crime *before* committing it. Similar to other researchers (Kulwicki 2002; Vandello and Cohen 2003) we conceptualized honor crimes as a form of domestic violence. Therefore, future research should draw on general domestic violence cases similar to the honor crimes in our study to see if techniques of neutralizations are applied in the same way. Despite these limitations, our study indicates that Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization theory provides a useful framework in understanding how perpetrators justify the honor crime they commit.

Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that honor crimes include a range of neutralization techniques and often include more than one. In addition, different themes emerged within each technique of neutralization. Often the offender claimed it was the victim who deserved it, an external factor was to blame, or the offender's culture, religion, or honor was used as a justification. It was common for offenders to confess to the crime.

Aligning with previous research by Cavanagh et al. (2001) and Dobash and Dobash (2011), we found that offenders used tactics of denial and justifications in the context of a subset of domestic violence. Future research should provide specific and feasible policy implications. There is a particular need to promote proactive community discussion about honor crimes (An-Na'im 2005). Due to a lack of guidance on how to start and sustain a community discussion about honor crimes (Kulczycki and Windle 2011) future research would be helpful in establishing those guidelines.

Notes on contributors

CARLIJN VAN BAAK (M.A., Sam Houston State University) recently graduated with her Masters of Arts in Criminal Justice and Criminology and aims to pursue her Ph.D. Her research interests include international criminal justice and violence against women, including intimate partner violence.

BRITTANY E. HAYES (Ph.D., John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology at Sam Houston State University. Her research focuses on micro and macro level effects on behaviors and attitudes as well as intimate partner abuse. Her work has been published in the *American Sociological Review*, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, and *Violence Against Women*.

JOSHUA D. FREILICH is a member of the Criminal Justice Department and the Criminal Justice Ph.D. Program at John Jay College. He is the Creator and co-Director of the United States Extremist Crime Database, an open source relational database of violent and financial crimes committed by political extremists in the United States. Professor Freilich's research has been funded by the Department of Homeland Security and the National Institute of Justice. His research focuses on the causes of and responses to terrorism, bias crimes, measurement issues, and criminology theory, especially environmental criminology and crime prevention.

STEVEN M. CHERMAK is a Professor in the School of Criminal Justice at the Michigan State University, an investigator for the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, and Creator and co-Director of the United States Extremist Crime Database. He studies domestic terrorism, media coverage of crime and justice issues, and the effectiveness of specific policing strategies. Recent publications have appeared in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Crime and Delinquency*, and the *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*.

References

- Abu-Odeh, Lama. 1997. "Comparatively Speaking: The Honor of the East and the Passion of the West." *Utah Law Review* 1997(2):287–307.
- Akpinar, Aylin. 2003. "The Honour/Shame Complex Revisited: Violence against Women in the Migration Context." *Women's Studies International Forum* 26(5):425–442.
- Ali, Ayaan H. 2015. "Honor Killings in America." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/04/honor-killings-in-america/391760/>).
- Alvarez, Alexander. 1997. "Adjusting to Genocide: The Techniques of Neutralization and the Holocaust." *Social Science History* 21(2):139–178.
- An-Na'im, Abdullahi A. 2005. "The Role of 'Community Discourse' in Combating 'Crimes of Honour': Preliminary Assessment and Prospects." Pp. 64–77 in *"Honour": Crimes, Paradigms, and Violence against Women*, edited by L. Welchman and S. Hossain. New York: Zed Books.
- Associated Press Online. 2002. "Man Arrested in Triple Homicide." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.freepublic.com/focus/f-news/725699/posts>).
- Baker, Nancy V., Peter R. Gregware, and Margery A. Cassidy. 1999. "Family Killing Fields Honor Rationales in the Murder of Women." *Violence Against Women* 5(2):164–184.
- Bartamaha. 2009. "Somali Man Ruled Competent for Murder Trial." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.bartamaha.com/?p=5346>).
- Baxi, Pratiksha, Shirin M. Rai, and Shaheen Sardar Ali. 2006. "Legacies of Common Law: 'Crimes of Honour' in India and Pakistan." *Third World Quarterly* 27(7): 1239–1253.
- Byers, Bryan, Benjamin W. Crider, and Gregory K. Biggers. 1999. "Bias Crime Motivation: A Study of Hate Crime and Offender Neutralization Techniques Used against the Amish." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 15(1):78–96.
- Cavanagh, Kate R., Rebecca E. Dobash, Russell P. Dobash, and Ruth Lewis. 2001. "Remedial Work: Men's Strategic Responses to their Violence against Intimate Female Partners." *Sociology* 35(3):695–714.
- Chermak, Steven M., Joshua D. Freilich, William S. Parkin, and James P. Lynch. 2012. "American Terrorism and Extremist Crime Data Sources and Selectivity Bias: An Investigation Focusing on Homicide Events Committed by Far-Right Extremists." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 28(1):191–218.
- CNN. 2009. "Iraqi Woman, 20, Dies; Police in Arizona Say Father Ran Her Over." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.cnn.com/2009/CRIME/11/02/arizona.iraqi.dad/>).
- Cohen, Stanley. 2001. *States of Denial: Knowing About Atrocities and Suffering*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Coomaraswamy, Radhika. 2005. "Violence against Women and 'Crimes of Honour.'" Pp. 1–14 in *"Honour": Crimes, Paradigms, and Violence against Women*, edited by Lynn Welchman and Sara Hossain. New York, NY: Zed Books.
- Cooney, Mark. 2014. "Death by Family: Honor Violence as Punishment." *Punishment & Society* 16(4):406–267.
- Copes, Heith. 2003. "Societal Attachments, Offending Frequency, and Techniques of Neutralization." *Deviant Behavior* 24(2):101–127.

- Cromwell, Paul and Quint Thurman. 2003. "The Devil Made Me Do It: Use of Neutralizations by Shoplifters." *Deviant Behavior* 24(6):535–550.
- Courier Journal. 2011. "USA: Somali Man Said Biyad's Trial in Deaths of Kids to Begin." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (http://www.hiiraan.com/news2/2011/apr/usa_somali_man_said_biyad_s_trial_in_deaths_of_kids_to_begin.aspx).
- Daily Mail. 2013. "Man Takes Stand in Trial for Attack on Ex's Family." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2506131/Iftexhar-Murtaza-trial-Alleged-murderer-takes-stand.html>).
- Dobash, R. Emerson and Russell P. Dobash. 2011. "What Were They Thinking? Men Who Murder an Intimate Partner." *Violence Against Women* 17(1):111–134.
- Doğan, Recep. 2014a. "Different Cultural Understandings of Honor That Inspire Killing: An Inquiry into the Defendant's Perspective." *Homicide Studies* 18(4):363–388.
- . 2014b. "The Profiles of Victims, Perpetrators, and Unfounded Beliefs in Honor Killings in Turkey." *Homicide Studies* 18(4):389–416.
- Eisner, Manuel P. and Lana Ghuneim. 2013. "Honor Killing Attitudes amongst Adolescents in Amman, Jordan." *Aggressive Behavior* 39(5):405–417.
- Faqir, Fadia. 2001. "Intrafamily Femicide in Defence of Honour: The Case of Jordan." *Third World Quarterly* 22(1):65–82.
- Feldner, Yotam. 2000. "'Honor' Murders—Why the Perps Get Off Easy." *Middle East Quarterly* 7(4):41–50.
- Ferne, Elizabeth. 2000. "The Challenges for Middle Eastern Women in the 21st Century." *The Middle East Journal* 54(2):185–193.
- Freilich, Joshua D., Steven M. Chermak, Roberta Belli, Jeff Gruenewald, and William S. Parkin. 2014. "Introducing the United States Extremist Crime Database (ECDB)." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26(2):372–384.
- Goffman, Erving. 1971. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gruenewald, Jeff, Steven M. Chermak, and Joshua D. Freilich. 2013. "Distinguishing 'Loner' Attacks from Other Domestic Extremist Violence." *Criminology & Public Policy* 12(1):65–91.
- Hasan, Manar. 2002. "The Politics of Honor: Patriarchy, the State and the Murder of Women in the Name of Family Honor." *The Journal of Israeli History* 21(1–2):1–37.
- Hayes, Brittany E., Joshua D. Freilich, and Steven M. Chermak. 2016. "An Exploratory Study of Honor Crimes in the United States." *Journal of Family Violence* 31(3):303–314.
- Hazani, Moshe. 1991. "The Universal Applicability of the Theory of Neutralization: German Youth Coming to Terms with the Holocaust." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 15(2):135–149.
- Heltstley, Martha and Thomas C. Calhoun. 2003. "The Good Mother: Neutralization Techniques Used by Pageant Mothers." *Deviant Behavior* 24(2):81–100.
- Hollinger, Richard C. 1991. "Neutralizing in the Workplace: An Empirical Analysis of Property Theft and Production Deviance." *Deviant Behavior* 12(2):169–202.
- Huffington Post. 2011. "Faleh Hassan Almaleki Guilty: Jury Convicts Iraqi Immigrant for 'Honor Killing'" Retrieved February 15, 2016 (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/02/22/iraqi-immigrant-guilty-honor-killing_n_826840.html).
- İnce, Hilal Onur, Aysun Yaralı, and Doğançan Özsel. 2009. "Customary Killings in Turkey and Turkish Modernization." *Middle Eastern Studies* 45(4):537–551.
- Kogacioglu, Dicle. 2004. "The Tradition Effect: Framing Honor Crimes in Turkey." *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 15(2):119–151.
- Kulczycki, Andrzej, and Sarah Windle. 2011. "Honor Killings in the Middle East and North Africa: A Systematic Review of the Literature." *Violence Against Women* 17(11):1442–1464.
- Kulwicki, Anahid D. 2002. "The Practice of Honor Crimes: A Glimpse of Domestic Violence in the Arab World." *Issues in Mental Health Nursing* 23(1):77–87.
- Lari, Maliha Z. 2011. "A Pilot Study on: 'Honour Killings' in Pakistan and Compliance of Law." Retrieved November 3, 2016 (http://www.af.org.pk/pub_files/1366345831.pdf).
- Liddick, Don. 2013. "Techniques of Neutralization and Animal Rights Activists." *Deviant Behavior* 34(8):618–634.
- Lodhi, Memoona S. and Jawaid A. Siddiqui. 2014. "Sociological Perspective on the Issue of Killing in the Name of Honor in Pakistan." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol19-issue12/Version-2/K0191225861.pdf>).
- Maruna, Shadd and Heith Copes. 2005. "What Have We Learned From Five Decades of Neutralization Research?" *Crime and Justice* 32:221–320.
- Minor, W. William. 1981. "Techniques of Neutralization: A Reconceptualization and Empirical Examination." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 18(2):295–318.
- Muhammad, Amin A. 2010. "Preliminary Examination of So-Called 'Honour Killings' in Canada." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/cj-jp/fv-vf/hk-ch/index.html>).
- New Times Broward-Palm Beach. 2010. "Faleh Almaleki 'Honor Killed' His Daughter for Disgracing Him." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.browardpalmbeach.com/news/faleh-almaleki-honor-killed-his-daughter-for-disgracing-him-6334099>).
- New York Post. 2014. "Man Killed Wife for Making Vegetarian Dinner: Prosecutors." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://nypost.com/2014/05/21/man-charged-with-killing-wife-after-she-made-him-the-wrong-dinner/>).

- News Daily. 2011. "Jonesboro Man Convicted of Killing Daughter." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (http://www.news-daily.com/news/jonesboro-man-convicted-of-killing-daughter/article_f7ba4fe-8a71-5825-8662-e86a5f817927.html).
- Pakistan Today. 2014. "Pakistani on Trial in U.S. for Killing Wife over Lentils." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/05/28/national/pakistani-immigrant-being-tried-in-us-court-for-beating-wife-to-death-on-dinner-choice/>).
- Piquero, Nicole L., Stephen G. Tibbetts, and Michael B. Blankenship. 2005. "Examining the Role of Differential Association and Techniques of Neutralization in Explaining Corporate Crime." *Deviant Behavior* 26(2):159–188.
- Pogrebin, Mark R., Eric D. Poole, and Amos Martinez. 1992. "Accounts of Professional Misdeeds: The Sexual Exploitation of Clients by Psychotherapists." *Deviant Behavior* 13(3):229–252.
- Pope, Nicole. 2012. *Honor Killings in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pysih. 2010. "Faleh Hassan Almaleki." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://pysih.com/2010/06/16/faleh-hassan-almaleki/>).
- Religion News Blog. 2009. "Man Accused of Beheading His Wife Appears in Court." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.religionnewsblog.com/23300/muslim-who-beheaded-wife-appears-in-court>).
- Rochester Democrat and Chronicle. 2004. "Man Killed Wife for Honor, He Tells Cops." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (http://roc.democratandchronicle.com/news/04244241FCB_news.shtml/).
- Sellin, Johan T. 1938. *Culture Conflict and Crime*. New York: Social Science Research Council.
- Solomonias. 2004. "Honor Killings Come to the USA." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.solomonias.com/blog/archives/003699.shtml>).
- Spraitz, Jason D. and Kendra N. Bowen. 2016. "Techniques of Neutralization and Persistent Sexual Abuse by Clergy: A Content Analysis of Priest Personnel Files from the Archdiocese of Milwaukee." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 31(15):2515–2538.
- Sykes, Gresham M. and David Matza. 1957. "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency." *American Sociological Review* 22(6):664–670.
- The San Diego Union Tribune. 2011. "Prosecutor Faults Helpers in OC Family Attack." Retrieved June 14, 2015 (<http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/2011/dec/07/prosecutor-faults-helpers-in-oc-family-attack/>).
- Time Warner Cable News. 2011. "Hassan Trial: Day 9." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (http://buffalo.ynn.com/content/top_stories/531972/hassan-trial-day-9/).
- Tomita, Susan K. 1990. "The Denial of Elder Mistreatment by Victims and Abusers: The Application of Neutralization Theory." *Violence and Victims* 5(3):171–184.
- UNFPA. 2000. "The State of the World Population." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2000/english/index.html>).
- United Press International. 2011. "Judge: Beheading Case Lawyer Must Stay." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (http://www.upi.com/Top_News/US/2011/01/20/Judge-Beheading-case-lawyer-must-stay/UPI-70221295579160/).
- Vandello, Joseph A. and Dov Cohen. 2003. "Male Honor and Female Fidelity: Implicit Cultural Scripts That Perpetuate Domestic Violence." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84(5):997–1010.
- WGRZ. 2010. "Jailhouse Interview: Mo Hassan Explains Why He Beheaded His Wife." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (<http://www.wgrz.com/news/local/story.aspx?storyid=85799&provider=top>).
- Wikan, Unni. 2008. *In Honor of Fadime: Murder and Shame*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Winona Daily News. 2011. "Minnesota Man Accused of Killing Stepdaughter in Michigan." Retrieved February 15, 2016 (http://www.winonadailynews.com/news/local/state-and-regional/article_5d489a34-7593-11e0-b041-001cc4c002e0.html).
- Zakar, Rubeena, Muhammad Zakria Zakar, and Alexander Kraemer. 2013. "Men's Beliefs and Attitudes toward Intimate Partner Violence against Women in Pakistan." *Violence Against Women* 19(2):246–268.